



THE INTERNATIONALE:

ITS PRINCIPLES AND PURPOSES.

BEING A SEQUEL TO THE

DEFENSE OF THE COMMUNE.

By GEORGE WILKES.

DEDICATED TO THE

NATIONAL LABOR UNION.

NEW YORK:


1871.



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THE INTERNATIONALE.

PARIS, SEPTEMBER 20, 1871.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE N. Y. HERALD :

MY letters of the last few weeks have shown the relative principles, motives, and positions of the two parties to the late civil war at Paris. On the one side, we have seen a royalistic parliament, which had been sprung upon the nation by the rural priests, meditate the political emasculation of the great centres of intelligence, as the only permanent security for monarchy in France. On the other hand, we have beheld the capital, alarmed none too soon at this conspiracy to subjugate the cities, draw the sword, and appeal to the country in favor of communal independence and republicanism. We saw it keep the field, with two hundred thousand men for two months, without reinforcements or supports; its sister cities having been induced to leave it to its fate, through the adroit lying of the royalists, who reported that Paris intended to assume the dictatorship of France; and, also, through the still blacker perjury of Thiers, who kept swearing to Marseilles, Lyons, and Bordeaux that, if allowed to deal with ambitious Paris as he wished, the republic should be held intact. We then saw Versailles recruited by the Prussians from the German prisons, and Paris murdered by their aid. No sooner was this black treachery performed, than Thiers, despising his oaths, proclaimed monarchy to be his choice. He at present adheres to the vain form of a republic, only, because his ambition has taken a new slant.

THE TREACHERY OF THIERS.

This is an epitome of what has gone before. In the first place, all the monarchies of Europe were in the plot to humiliate France, because they perceived that the period had again come

around for its democratic energies to act. They therefore, stood coldly aloof until her power had been broken, and then cheerfully patronized the subordinate job, undertaken by Thiers and the legitimists, of rooting out the Internationale. They feared that growing terror more than they dreaded the undue aggrandizement of any special State. And that is the true reason why they permitted the "balance of power"—that cherished fruit of the "Holy Alliance"—to be destroyed by the dismemberment of France; and also the reason why not one of them raised a finger against the suppression of the laws of civilization in the Massacre of Paris. As for Paris herself, her fight had been for Liberty. On this theme she was a unit. Before her struggle was over, however, and after she had endured the indiscriminate barbarities of Versailles, she became wholly a convert to the Internationale. In the face of the new armament of Europe, and the fresh compacts of its kings, she saw that her only hope was in a Holy Alliance of the People.

THE INTERNATIONALE.

The Internationale is an organization of the working classes of all nations, who believe that the present form into which society has worked itself is a false, artificial, and unjust state of things, which has inverted all the original conditions upon which man was intrusted with the possession of the earth. They hold that land, water, air, and all natural elements are common gifts; and that even these depend for their value upon the application of labor; that labor, therefore, is the great source of all the wealth and production of the world, and, as such, is entitled to an equitable distribution, not only of what it produces, but of the political power necessary to insure a just distribution, and watch over its own safety. It does not deny the right of individual acquisition of property, or begrudge to honestly acquired wealth any lawful luxury it can command; but it insists that the common gifts of the Creator shall not be monopolized by small bodies of men, through governmental charters, or a system of special legislation tolerated which confers the opportunities of acquiring wealth only on

favoured classes. To use the language of one of their most gifted defenders :

“They say that where, in a common work, labor is no less necessary than capital, and laborers are as worthy of the profits as managers, the system by which the gross result is appropriated by capital, and under which the self-indulgence of wealth soars to yet unimagined heights, whilst the area of misery, ignorance, and exhaustion sinks ever deeper, is a system which is doomed to end. And this, their claim is good. Let us turn to the remedy they propose. The whole social force, which so long, they say, has been directed by capital in its own interest, shall be directed by workmen in the interests of workmen. The laws shall no longer be made so as to handicap the laborer in the race of industry. The power of the State shall step in to neutralize competition, and to restrain the selfish abuse of capital. Such is the faith which has seized the foremost minds of the workmen of Europe, which, in some form or other, receives the devotion of a religious creed. Can anyone doubt its strength compared with the conscious corruption of the opposite creed? Does the selfish cunning of competition, in its heart, think it can stand a social energy like this, with all its errors and all its dangers? Does a society which lives in its equipages, and toils only in amusements, match itself seriously with men who are ready thus to die for a cause, however mistaken? The claim of capital to amass wealth by what means it chooses, and to spend it how and when it pleases, is so vile—the claim of the workman to have his part in the social result is so unanswerable—that in the end the issue is not doubtful. And since this social problem must some day be faced by all, it seems time for serious men to reflect what other solution remains.”

This eloquent voice, which rises above the roar of selfishness and wealth in England, is echoed by the programme of the

“U. S. NATIONAL LABOR UNION”

of the United States, which has recently issued a preliminary address to a Labor Convention, to be held at Columbus, Ohio, in October next, with the view of framing a platform of principles, and nominating a Labor candidate for President. The working of “the American government,” say these earnest men,

“Is wholly perverted from its true design ; the sacred names of Democracy and Republicanism are synonyms for tyranny, and the parties bearing these names, as now organized, are engines of oppression. Although the country has unlimited resources, and groans beneath the product of human effort, the mass of the People have no supply beyond their daily wants, and, by unjust conditions, are compelled in sickness and misfortune to become paupers and vagrants. How far pauperism and crime are connected with the abuses inflicted on labor, a superficial statesmanship seems not to perceive ; yet it is with these we have to deal. Chattel slavery has been abolished, yet the rights of labor stand just where they did before emancipation in respect to the division of its products. The difference lies only in the methods of abstracting the results and concentrating them in the few capitalists who are now the masters and dictators of terms, and that all labor is still practically in the condition of the slave before his emancipation. Being thus placed, the interests of all labor are concerned, and the working classes must fight the battle in unity, if they would succeed.”

In direct sympathy with this manifesto, the following programme has just been issued by the London republicans.

THE LONDON LABOR UNION.

Setting out with a preamble which states their object to be the

promotion of the intellectual, moral, and material welfare of mankind, they declare the best means to realize this aim to be, in their judgment,

“1. The application of the federation principle to all republican states. 2. Abolition of aristocratic titles and privileges. 3. Suppression of all monopolies. 4. Abolition of standing armies. 5. Compulsory gratuitous secular and industrial education. 6. Obligation of the State to provide suitable employment for all citizens able to work and sustenance for the incapacitated; none to live upon the labor of others. 7. Nationalization of land.”

These *pronunciamentos* and demonstrations afford a fair general insight into the principles and programme of the Internationale; but the two propositions which have earned for it the deepest hostility of the ruling classes in Europe are its meditated reforms in the ownership of land and compulsory secular education. The first of these has drawn upon it the unsparing denunciation of the landed aristocracy of all nations; and the latter exposes it to the special opposition of the clergy. The amount of lying which has been levelled at it by these two hostile interests is perfectly amazing; and I do not know that I can convey a better idea of its shameless measure than by referring to the infamy in which these two agencies temporarily succeeded in drowning the Commune—a pact which sprang from the loftiest patriotism, was actuated in everything it did by the purest motives, and which, after a decorous, moral, and forbearing life, died without a crime. At any rate, if it committed any—any, at least, in the forms of dishonesty, sacrilege, social immorality, or murder—its persecutors, who dragged it by the throat before military tribunals of their own, were unable to brand it with a single case. Of course, I leave out of this category the shooting of the hostages and the firing of certain public edifices during the last hours of its struggle—satisfied that I have already exhibited sufficient legal justification upon these points.

RESPECTABLE LYING AGAINST THE COMMUNE.

It is not safe to accept the representations of any of the organs of European society, or of their feeble followers in the United States, as to the doctrines and the aims of the Internationale. The policy of society, organized as it is to-day, is simply to howl at it in the lump, and to brand it with all the foul and

wicked purposes which base and terrified imaginations can conceive. During the struggle of the Commune, all sorts of forged bulletins, purporting to be issued by the Internationale, were scattered throughout France, in order to bring odium on the Association; and, every once in a while, the English journals would publish false programmes of its principles, in which the denial of a God, the abolition of the marriage tie, and the redistribution of all property, at large, were unblushingly paraded as the cardinal points. Most of these precious fulminations are now in regular course of circulation and reprint in *enlightened* America. Only two weeks ago, an assumed proclamation of the Internationale found its way into the Paris papers, threatening all the members of the government at Versailles with death, if it should execute any of the Communist prisoners then on trial; and this morning, I find in *Galignani* an extract from the *Unita Cattolica* of Turin, giving the platform of the Alfieri Society of Rome (an acolyte of the Internationale), pretending that the sixth article declares that, in case of a war between Italy and a foreign power, it will have to descend to the ground of action, and burn as many churches as possible—especially the Vatican—and revive in the recollection of the People the tradition of the Sicilian Vespers. And this is the kind of trash these reactionary conspirators expect the world to believe of an association named after one of the most celebrated poets of Italy, and notoriously combining among its members some of the first artists and brightest intellects of the Eternal City. But this is just the trash that is readily believed, and most readily by Americans.

COMPULSORY EDUCATION AND "FREE TRADE IN RELIGION."

The Internationale, as I have said before, is simply an organization of the working classes of the world upon a platform of the rights of labor. Declaring the political equality of man, it knows where to find its enemies, and, as a means of defeating them, it asks for universal compulsory "secular" education—that is to say, the compulsory education of both sexes in the general rudiments of knowledge, without the infusion of religious creeds. On the subject of religion, it inculcates nothing

and rejects nothing. It satisfies itself solely with so enlarging the intellect with wholesome and vigorous instruction that the mind is capable of acting as a free agent and judging for itself. So far from being atheistic, therefore, the Internationale proclaims free trade in religion; and the only restrictions which it places on the clergy is, that they shall have no share in the legislation of the State. As to its estimation of the household relations (in regard to which it has been so wickedly maligned), its programme promotes marriage by liberating the desirable act of wedlock from the forms laid upon it by the law and the fees put upon it by the church. In other words, it proposes to facilitate marriage between young persons by making a simple acknowledgment before a magistrate a sufficient contract, as in the United States. This sweeping decree against one of the most profitable branches of religious commerce, could not be tolerated by the merchants of either the Catholic or English Church; and hence all the effusions we have heard about the dreadful social theories of the Internationale. So far from these accusations being justified by facts, the truth is just the other way.

MORALS OF THE POOR.

The home of female chastity, of manly continence, and of the sound domestic virtues is with the laboring poor. They know nothing of the luxury of wealth or of its debasements. They rise with the lark. Their humble morning meal, sweetened with the kiss of her who spreads it, sends them to the toil which makes the earth inhabitable; and they return at night to clasp the blossoms of their love upon their breasts, with an honest joy which is in itself the purest praise to Heaven. These are not the people who commit crimes or hanker after immorality; and those who can believe they do, know nothing of mankind.

NATIONALIZATION OF LAND.

But the pretended agrarian instincts of the Internationale, its assumed disposition to take from those who have, and divide with those who have not, is the favorite apparition which is

constantly conjured up to affright "society" with the prospect of the laboring classes getting "the upper hand." Let us see whether this plausible slander will bear the test of an inquiry any better than the falsehoods we have already probed.

The doctrine of the Internationale and the Commune on the subject of the redistribution of land, is simply a slight advance upon the law of France as it has stood ever since 1793. The republican leaders of that period having found the social organization standing on its head, with none of the land in the hands of those who worked it, devoted themselves to see how this land could be honestly recovered from those who had monopolized it, and redistributed among the people—how, in short, the original plan of nature could be reinstated, without confiscation, or any other violence against the forms of law which protected it to the possessor. Though the evil was a crying one, and demanded a quick remedy, these republican philosophers were content to abide the gradual operation of a law which should bear upon the future; and, in this spirit of noble moderation, they devised the statute which has been the source of the wonderful material prosperity which France has enjoyed since its enactment. I speak of that law of France which forbids the devise of property by will, and requires estates to be divided among those who are prescribed as heirs-at-law. This legislation practically said to the country, "We have no objection to a man becoming rich, for we recognize the necessity of some special stimulation to individual effort; nor will we disturb him in the enjoyment of his property by undue requisitions. On the contrary, we will protect him in its possession; nay, we will even permit him to dispose of it as he pleases, by gift or otherwise, down to the last moment of his life; but, when the breath passes from his body, his control over it shall cease, and it shall then be divided among those whom it was his natural duty to love. Having acquired its possession under the generous protection of the laws, he shall not be allowed to tyrannize over it after he is dead, by aggrandizing one successor at the expense of several equally deserving heirs, who may perhaps become paupers or criminals to burden or perplex the State."

THE LAND LAWS OF FRANCE.

This law, which did no one an injustice, knocked primogeniture and entail in the head. Under its operation, the large estates crumbled at the death of every proprietor, and the land kept constantly subdividing itself, and working back among the people, as if under the superintendence of its original donor, the Creator. As early as within sixty years of its enactment, this original plan of God had been so far restored that there were, and still are, nine millions of landed proprietors in France, against the thirty-two thousand that are to be found in England. I was struck with the physical evidences of this law on my first visit to this country in 1851, in the variety of small patches of contrasted cultivation which were visible in every field. During another visit, in 1864, a wealthy English squire, who was the owner of hundreds of broad acres, directed my attention to this fact from the window of a rail-car, and deplorably made his comment by remarking :

“ Ah, sir, with this infinite subdivision of the land, there can be no model farming here ! ”

“ No,” said I, “ you are quite correct in that ; but, after all, a contented man is the most successful of machines ; and I beg to direct your attention to the fact, that every inch of soil in this country is made to bear a blade of grain.”

This law of subdivision was the legacy of the old French Revolution ; and in noticing its effects in some letters which I wrote in 1851, I remarked that it was the greatest charter of equality that had ever been devised by man, and expressed my belief that no country could remain republican without it. We have seen what has happened since in the United States, and alas, we also see what is the political outlook of America to-day ; but of that by-and-by.!

This grand law of land subdivision (through the abrogation of wills) was the work of the Paris Republicans of 1793, and no king or emperor who has since succeeded them in power, has dared to interfere with it. Under its influence France has risen to the leadership of the world in production, in manufactures, and the arts. The vast material prosperity, which has

been erroneously attributed to the sagacious administration of the Second Empire, and which, through the touchstone of the recent loan, surprised the world by the hidden wealth revealed in the pockets of the French people, is all to be credited to the beneficent operation of this law. The loan, doubtless, had one other unseen help, and that was the fact that, through the fraudulent remissions of the Imperial War Department, there had been only three hundred and fifty thousand military non-producers under arms in France during the last five years, instead of the seven hundred thousand for which the Empire was exacting pay and rations. The annual production of three hundred and fifty thousand men is a vast help, even to a nation of thirty millions of inhabitants; and thus, France, in addition to the enormous benefits accruing through a more general cultivation of her soil, profited unconsciously by the system which so enriches England and America—to wit, the practical reduction of her standing army.

The Communists of Paris had studiously weighed these things, and understood thoroughly the workings and benefits of the law for the division of the estates of intestate proprietors. They and their predecessors were the true custodians and defenders of the law, but the Internationale have hit upon a mode by which even that beneficent law may be improved. The amendment they propose is, that the abandoned estate (that is to say, abandoned, because the owner has not chosen to dispose of it previous to death), instead of being divided among heirs-at-law of the deceased, should be appropriated by the country, to be sold at auction, for the relief of the public treasury. At first sight, this seems to be a bold invasion of our ordinary notions of the rights of property; but, on reflection, it will be seen that the proposed system touches no rights except those which have been resigned; for the proprietor is always at liberty, even on his death-bed, to sell, divide, or give away the estate which, only through his own neglect or selfishness, may become subject to its operation. This is the only amendment which the Internationale propose to what is obviously the best land system in the world; and that it is an improvement on ours, no

candid reasoner can doubt. I have discussed it with many men of wealth in Paris, and they have all agreed that the proposed amendment is good enough for them. They say that they have confidence enough in themselves to believe that they can duly establish their children previous to death, out of the property they have acquired; and they agree, that the man who is so miserly as not to do that in time, but to let death overtake him while still tightening his grip, is not entitled to much commiseration from the outside world. Besides, they also take the practical and selfish view, that they would rather than not, have the chance to profit by the negligence of those who are less sagacious than themselves.

THE LAND LAWS OF ENGLAND.

But the best proof of the value of this law as a democratic measure is, the contrast which its results afford with the present condition of land tenure and land ownership in England and the United States. In England, through the centralizing influences of the laws of primogeniture and entail, which tie the land to families and fasten its descent from eldest son to eldest son, the entire surface, on which so many millions depend for their subsistence, is owned by the ridiculously small number of *thirty-two thousand proprietors*; and the number of these proprietors is annually decreasing, through laws which impose the transfer of land with so much expense that it has ceased to become a marketable article. Indeed, it has been, for several years, the settled policy of the governing aristocracy of England to concentrate the land of the entire domain of Great Britain into as few hands as possible; and to this end the owners of the larger estates are constantly endeavoring to buy up and absorb the smaller ones. As an evidence of this, there were in England, a hundred years ago, two hundred and fifty thousand proprietors for the thirty-two thousand owners of to-day. To quote from Mr. George Odger, who has recently contributed a very able article to the "Contemporary Review of London" upon the Land Question :

"A better notion of the growth of our land monopoly may be obtained from the following: The Earl of Bredalbane can ride on his own property 100 miles from his own house in a single direction. The Duke of Sutherland owns the county of the same

name; this county reaches from sea to sea. The Duke of Richmond holds possession of 340,000 acres at Gordon Castle and Goodwood; and the Duke of Devonshire 96,000 acres in the county of Derby alone. It has been authoritatively stated that less than 160 persons now own one-half the land of England and three-fourths of Scotland. The way in which political power, so largely monopolized by landed proprietors, has been used, may be gleaned from the fact that, within the last two hundred years, 7,000,000 acres of common lands have been added to their estates—that is, to the estates of adjoining proprietors."

The result of this criminal conspiracy to absorb the common inheritance of man is, of course, to make the working classes of England poorer and poorer, and to constitute the monopolists the owners of the population of the country, as well as of the land. Hence, the aristocracy of Great Britain is the most powerful, wealthy, and well-organized in the world; and, however much we may hear them denounce the imperial systems of other countries, they are the firmest supporters, nay, the chief reliance, of the darkest despotisms of the Continent. In like manner is the English Established Church the stoutest auxiliary of the papacy at Rome.

LAND LAWS OF THE UNITED STATES.

In the United States, we have been freed from the laws of primogeniture and entail, and it was reasonably supposed, when this great liberation was effected, that land monopoly, in a country so favored as ours, and withal so broad, could never reach a point whence it could threaten the public liberties. Yet we have lived to see an insurrection of landed proprietors in the South, who had become so rich that they no longer desired to remain republican; and we have before our eyes to-day, the fact that, in face of the principles of the American Constitution against land monopoly, the Congress of the United States have, within the last few years, donated away to railway speculators an amount of the national domain equal to the entire area of France. Railway lords are combining together to monopolize the internal carrying trade of the country, to an extent that will soon enable these conspirators to say, at what rate a bushel of wheat raised in Missouri shall be eaten in New York, and what the West shall pay the East for the things they use and wear. The tariffs these monopolists will lay, will be more onerous than those of the government, and their combined power will be prac-

tically greater. The worst feature of the problem is, that, when we turn to the only quarter potent enough to curb this rapidly-increasing danger, we are confronted by a Congress which exhibits an increasing tendency to unite with the conspirators, and use the public as its prey.

MONARCHICAL ELEMENT IN THE UNITED STATES.

The danger which now threatens the public liberties in the United States, and its very form of government, is the growing tendency to conspiracies of wealth, in the form of land, railway, and steamship monopolies, and moneyed corporations. It is not the purpose of this letter to suggest legislation on the subject; but it is obvious that, unless the system of land grants and special charters is speedily arrested, and the law of France for the subdivision of estates adopted, our boasted institutions will soon cease to be an example to mankind. I am almost afraid to express my conviction as to the amount of monarchical element that now exists in the United States. Twelve years ago a man would have been laughed at for saying that there was any perceptible fraction of our population in favor of abandoning republican for monarchical institutions. Nevertheless, we have seen nearly one-half of the country swing off in bulk, and entertain proposals for a king. It is the common impression of the nation—nay, of our lawyers—that the laws of primogeniture and entail have no existence within our boundaries; yet we see numbers of such families as the Astors of New York carefully hiving their wealth, and passing it from eldest son to eldest son by will—a pernicious evasion of the spirit of our institutions, which, if not exactly criminal, is deserving of the severest reprobation. This evil example is being followed not only very generally by the ambitious families of the South, but is spreading of late among the wealthy people of the Northern States. It will be perceived, therefore, that instead of the monarchical leaven of primogeniture and entail having been eradicated from our land, it is spreading with a new luxuriance, and rapidly disseminating future evils.

THE INDUSTRY OF POLITICS.

I wish I could stop here in the enumeration of the dangers which we have to dread ; but there is one curse among us more immediate, more corrupting, and more certain to sap the public liberties than any I have glanced at. I allude to the trade of politics, which, under the various forms of parties in the United States, has become a regular national industry, and has converted us, to a large extent, into a nation of office-seekers, or, in plainer words, a nation of supple kneed, bowing, scraping, and time-serving courtiers ; ay, *courtiers*. Think of that as a resulting destiny for the once austere, high-spirited, democratic people of America !

THE CURSE OF THE CONSTITUTION.

The fruitful source of this national deterioration is the re-elective feature of the Presidency of the United States. Chosen for a term, with the possibility of being elected again and again, it is the direct interest of every incumbent of the office, to shape his course so as to keep in favor with the politicians, instead of laboring to serve the public. To accomplish this object, he constantly holds himself ready, under the advisement of his party councilors, to appoint any incapable rogue to place, in his own personal interest, instead of selecting merely capable and honest men for the service of the country. The whole vast organization of government thus becomes a mere machine of party, and every piece of legislation, every public movement, is studied in advance, more with a view to the next presidential canvass than in consideration for the public good. Washington and Jackson saw the dangerous effects of this feature of our system, and in their farewell addresses earnestly advised an amendment to the Constitution prohibiting the reëlection of a President ; and every subsequent aspirant to the presidential chair has conceded to the universal sentiment of the nation on this subject, by giving out that he would not be a candidate a second time. In every case, however, these pledges have been flatly ignored, and in nearly every case the politicians have succeeded in triumphing over the repugnance of the People

Of course, this deplorable abuse grows worse and worse as time runs on, and, under the increasing patronage of the White House, it will soon be possible for the too-powerful occupant, to reinstate himself as long as he may live, and be in effect a king.

CORRUPTIONS FLOWING FROM THE RE-ELECTIVE PRINCIPLE.

Under the revelations of the impeachment trial of Andrew Johnson, it appeared that there were 42,000 persons who, directly or indirectly, depended upon the patronage of the President of the United States. For each of these persons in place there were five who were applicants, and quite as large a number who had held the place before, and hoped to hold it again. For this four hundred thousand men whose eyes are fixed humbly and worshipfully upon the central throne, there are five times as many similarly situated as to office under the sub-machinery of the States. So here we have the enormous number of two millions of men, with families and relatives to the extent of millions more, all constituting among them a public interest which is as much of a national industry as the making of shoes, or the growing of wheat and corn. Unlike the latter wholesome industrial pursuits, however, the industry of politics in the United States is, as every experienced citizen well knows, founded on the sub-industries of lying, cheating, and stealing. I wish the worst were told, but it is not; for these corrupting influences permeate every artery and section of society. They make us a "smart" people, liking to get money as we can—a people who lay by their consciences when they attempt to trade; and the leaders of whose society get rich in Wall street by felonious deceptions; thrive at the bar by defending right or wrong *for money*; sell justice from the bench to the highest bidder; and finally, forgetting God, even in religion, seek only Fashion at the church. Such is a true picture of the governing portion of America to-day. It is no fancy sketch, but a deep analysis. While, on this side of the Atlantic, the hearts of the masses are striving to get nearer and nearer to a pure ideal of democratic liberty; on our side, the conspiracies of wealth and

power are leading us on the velvet track of monarchical reaction ; and the most hopeful of us shudder when we reflect where it must stop. In European nations, where the People are unskilled in politics, they rise periodically against the corruption of their rulers, and sweep a dynasty away. For a time all goes well ; but by-and-by the next dynasty becomes corrupt, and that in turn is swept away, and again the atmosphere is cleansed. But let us, while we are surveying the laws of this phenomenon, pause for a moment to reflect, and to ask ourselves the question—What is to become of that country the tendency of whose laws and practices is to make the People corrupt ?

FORMATION OF AN AMERICAN ARISTOCRACY.

But thus far, there is nothing the matter with the great bulk of our people. The real trouble is, that American society is wrongly organized, and the wrong classes are in power. It is organized, in short, on the European aristocratic plan, and is more in need of the purification of a thorough revolution than even the society of Europe. Our railway magnates are our Marquises of Westminster, our Earls of Bredalbane, and our Dukes of Richmond ; and our reëligible President is every inch a king. More than a king, for he has a wider power ; and worse than a king, for while a hereditary monarch naturally feels a personal interest in maintaining the welfare of the country, a reëligible President is ready to sacrifice any public measure, however necessary to good government, to secure his reëlection. The most corrupting form of Monarchy known to the world is that which conceals itself in the Constitution of the United States, in its failure to prohibit the reëligibility of the Executive. Let the new power which is coming in America rub out this error, and inscribe the " One-Term Principle " upon its banners. Under the Constitution thus reformed, we shall have Presidents whose constant impulse it will be to promote the public welfare, to permit honest men to remain in office, and to leave a good name behind them when their term is done. Without this chief reform, we must plunge on in corruption, and soon drive upon the rocks.

LAND REFORM.

The other main reform we need is the adoption of the law of France in regard to the subdivision of the estates of deceased proprietors, as amended by the Internationale. This will effectually root out the seeds of primogeniture and entail, which are being carefully fostered by the purse-proud aristocracy of our country, North and South, and will prevent the villainy of donating away the public domain to monopolists to the extent of empires, from plaguing us beyond one generation. The constant tendency of the French law is to break up large estates and redistribute the land, under gentle and equitable influences, back among the people. It is a law which will be acceptable to the rich as well as to the poor, for, while by lightening the burdens of taxation, it practically increases the property of every proprietor, it vastly enlarges the opportunities of every landless man to become a proprietor himself. It is, in short, not only essentially a democratic law, but the very fountain of democracy itself; and my convictions are renewed (as expressed several years ago) that no country can long remain democratic or republican without it.

THE AIMS OF THE COMMUNE.

I have now sketched, and I believe with fairness, the purposes and acts of the Commune; and, as far as I have been able to ascertain them, the principles of the Internationale. I have shown the first to have been actuated by the noblest motives, characterized by the purest conduct, and butchered at the shrine of liberty unconvicted of a crime. I have examined the second, not with the eyes of a man who hates the poor, but of one who loves his race. I have found them to be as honest as their labor, aiming only to liberate mankind from the tyranny of kings and from that false condition of society which confers all the rewards of life upon the few to impose all the hardships and sacrifices on the many. I found their creed to be: 1. The fraternity of mankind, to be regarded as a principle paramount to the geographical boundaries of nations. 2. The abolishment of war as a mode of settling national disputes, and the consequent abol-

ishment of the death penalty in any form. 3. The federative principle to be applicable to all States, and to be maintained on a system of international arbitration. 4. The resumption by the State (as the custodian of Nature) of all property relinquished by the death of the proprietor, in order that it may be redistributed (through public sale and deposit in the public treasury) to the succeeding generation. 5. The abolition of all monopolies founded upon special legislative charters. 6. Universal suffrage. 7. Marriage contracts to be simplified to a formal acknowledgment before a magistrate; and 8. The trade of public prostitution to be prohibited by a rigorous application of industrial penalties.

AMERICAN AND FRENCH POLITICIANS COMPARED.

These are the main doctrines of the Internationale. Will any one assume that they do not form a better programme for the organization of society than the heinous system under which the world rots and groans to-day? Will it be pretended that the miserable slaves of politics in the United States—I mean the hundreds of thousands of poor party dogs who sniff about the public offices for crumbs, who daily crawl on their bellies for some place-giver's smile, and who dare not utter an independent thought, or, indeed, to speak at all, except at their patron's nod; I say, will it be pretended that the shoulders of such creatures as these are a safer foundation for the support of a republican State than the honest artisans who fought for the Commune in Paris, and who died for their principles at the barricades? Think of our bending parasites, in contrast with Delescluze and his heroic comrades who, excelling all previous example, even of the stern Roman days, with their useless swords put by, and their breasts laid bare, calmly exposing themselves to the fusillade of their barbaric foes, with the text of liberty upon their lips—and say which are the fittest to preserve the virtue of a State! It is more likely that the spirit of Liberty, which now finds its most numerous worshippers in Europe, will again cross the waters, to rekindle its dying fires in America and save us from the new slavery which, under the present descending pro-

gress of affairs, must be regarded as inevitable. The only power which can do this for us must spring from the unpolluted source which has never held power before—from the banded workmen of the New World—the Internationale. It is already preparing for its task, and its first care must be to beware of accepting the old hacks of party among its councilors or chiefs. The day of deliverance is at hand, old things must pass away and all things must be made new.

It may be thought that I am attributing an undue importance to the Internationale, and crediting it with too great a forwardness toward the objects of its mission; but everything on this side of the Atlantic justifies my expectations. Since the great crimes of Prussia in plundering Denmark, surprising Austria, and secretly plotting a system of universal armament (which enabled her to deluge France with bayonets, and must have the effect of refeudalizing Europe on the basis of the Middle Ages), the masses of all the Continental States have been pouring into the organization. Steam, the Electric Telegraph, the rapid progress of science, and those suggestive convocations of the mechanic arts known as the World's Fairs, where the genius and labor of man sate installed in their true supremacy, have, during the last twenty years, done more to set the European masses to thinking in their own behalf, than in a hundred years before.

THE CRIME OF BISMARCK.

The organization of the Internationale, however, has been more accelerated, during the last five years, by the audacious crime of Bismarck, in endeavoring to roll civilization back and set the world again on bayonets, than by any other influence. It has forced every man to think, and it has at the same time made every man afraid. The People of Europe have at last discovered that the natural instinct which is known as love of country, has been artificially and craftily developed, in order that the trade of murder may be universally instituted in the interest of kings. Hence the text of the Internationale as to the "fraternization" of mankind, and hence the assumption of the

Commune that the casting down of the Column of Vendôme, that symbol of war and murder, indicated that there was to be a new patriotism for the future—a patriotism which should overflow the mere geographical boundaries which marked the ebbs and flows of war, and be co-extensive with fraternal pulsations of the human race. That

LESSON OF THE COLUMN

was not lost upon the masses of Europe, nor upon the German mind, while a vastly accelerated activity of all the affiliated societies sprang from the fall of the Commune. Meetings of the Internationale are now being held, under various titles and pretexts, all over Europe. The most notable of these took place in London a few weeks ago, which had been forbidden by formal notice of the authorities, backed by an array of nearly four thousand policemen and a large reserve of military. The meeting was held, however; and the first thing, which the first speaker said to the tens of thousands of people who were swarming around him, was: "We are here to-night because the government has forbidden us to come." That was

THE FINISHING STROKE

to the present government of Great Britain; and when the Internationale are ready to proceed further, they will puff the form of it away. It is announced, in the *Presse* of this city, that the Internationale of Brussels will give a banquet on the 24th of this month to *fête* the anniversary of the foundation of that Society, and their advertisement states that one of their objects is "to protest against the celebration of the September festivals in Belgium, and to efface the lugubrious recollection of the demarcations of frontiers, which impound peoples in the 'vain name of country,' in armed groups, always ready to devour each other at the slightest warlike whim of their royal masters." It is plain from this, and from all other signs, that the true hope of France lies, not in the reorganization of her military system, and the increase of her army to the Prussian standard, *but in the Internationale*. She had better dismiss all of her soldiers, and send them to the plough; then address her-

self, through her people, to the masses of Germany and England, and see if by taking hold of hands they cannot heave off this superincumbent mass of steel which a handful of despots have imposed upon their chests. One broad respiration, and the world is free. France will then flow back to her natural boundaries, through the votes of her communities, and the harsh memories of war will be fraternally effaced. If we are to have an era of universal bayonets instead of universal suffrage, let the bayonets for once exercise the privilege of thinking; and then the kings will disappear.

MONARCHICAL ALLIANCE AGAINST DEMOCRACY.

That the despotic Powers of Europe do not underrate the importance of the Internationale, and are prepared to grapple with it, is evident from a variety of signs that appear in the journals of the day. The perfidious government of M. Thiers proposes, through its Minister of Justice, to make membership in it, or in any other secret association, a penal offence. The correspondent of the *London Times*, writing from Salzburg on September 7th, on the subject of the meeting at that place of Bismarck and Beust, and the Austrian and Prussian Emperors, says: "*One of the subjects discussed by the Austrian and German statesmen was the International Society, as much with the object of defence against its machinations, should necessity arise, as with the view of possibly arriving at a positive solution of social questions.*" And the *Courrier Diplomatique* of the same date publishes the following news: "At Salzburg, Count de Beust and Prince de Bismarck have resolved to maintain the peace of Europe against all aggressors. *A protocol has been signed concerning measures to be taken against the Internationale; other Powers will be invited to give in their adhesion.*"

REMEDY FOR WAR.

In the face of these signs, it is to be hoped that the crisis will soon come, and that the result of it will be a pact of fraternal republics, founded on universal suffrage, among which the heaviest crime will be the attempt to raise a military force. A crime not to be punished by the penalty of war, but

by the exclusion of the offender from commercial intercourse with the rest, until he shall conform to the peaceful regulation of the whole. A decree of this sort would be more terrible to the delinquent nation than a visitation of armed legions, for it would operate *instanter* in the stoppage of all his trade, and thus bring the interests, as well as the common sense, of every citizen to bear in protest against the belligerent action of his government. Surely this peaceful principle of coercion, in the form of NON-INTERCOURSE, is more worthy of the civilization of the age, than the barbaric diplomacy of war.

This sublime result accomplished, the French maiden will not have sung in vain—

“ If I were queen of France, or, much better, Pope of Rome,
 I'd have no fighting men abroad, no weeping maids at home ;
 All the world should be at peace, and if kings would show their might,
 Let those who make the quarrels be the only ones to fight.”

G. W.



